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COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

It appears to be an obvious truth, that an Institution which proposes to effect any very desirable purpose, in reference to our coloured population, must act upon some principle and plan, which both the Southern and Northern States will unite to maintain. Nor can we expect that any design on this subject, however unexceptionable, though better adapted than all others to destroy sectional prejudice, and to produce unanimity of sentiment throughout the nation, will immediately upon its development, be succeeded by its appropriate effects.

Time is generally requisite to accomplish important changes in human opinions and feelings. Hence, we are not surprised, that the course which the Colonization Society has considered it most judicious to adopt, does not receive the full measure of publick approbation. The knowledge of

the wisest of us is very imperfect; and intelligent minds, equally philanthropic, have their views considerably modified by local habits and circumstances. While the northern Christian considers this Society as cold and inefficient, his brother at the south, pronounces it too rash and daring. The former would have us boldly reprobate and attack what he regards as a most unjust system, portending misery, perhaps ruin, to our country; not sufficiently recollecting that it is a system handed down from past generations, legalized by the States and the Nation, and interwrought with the whole frame-work of society, and depending for its continuance or dissolution upon the will of those who sustain it. The other deeply regrets the evil, but his familiarity with it has diminished much of what is forbidding in its aspect;—he looks upon it as upon some physical calamity—he sees

its ramifications extending into all the business and interests of the community—he is appalled by its magnitude, and almost in despair of its removal fears, that the kindest efforts in relation to it, will but prove injurious. Now the Colonization Society would bring these individuals to act together. It would repress the intemperate, and awaken the lethargic, and reconcile the differing, and conciliate all; and if possible, blend into some common principle of action on this subject, the diversified sentiments of the virtuous throughout the land.—Some perhaps regret that it does not *directly* act upon the system of slavery; others that it may have *indirectly* any influence upon this system, while both we think, will at no distant period acknowledge, that to the plans of this Institution must we look for the most, if not for the only practicable and extensive operations to relieve and improve the coloured people of our country.

The Free People of Colour are legitimate objects for benevolent exertion, nor does their condition forbid its necessity. Their bodies are free, their minds enslaved. They can neither bless their brethren in servitude, nor rise from their own obscurity, nor add to the purity of our morals, nor to our wealth, nor to our political strength. In the colonization of these, then, we believe the whole

country will unite. But numerous proprietors of slaves are now disposed to emancipate. The desire to do this is becoming more extensive and strong, and who will assert that this sentiment may not increase with the evidences of the high benefits which may result from its exhibition in practice, and that the progress of generous opinions on this subject may not keep parallel with the advancement and resources of the African Colony?

So frequent were manumissions in Maryland and Virginia, before counteracted by legal preventions, as to throw upon the public an immense mass of wretched people; and, since the interposition of legislative restraints, hundreds, we believe we might say thousands of slaves have been transferred to freedom, in the middle and western States. But the motives for enfranchisement are every moment gaining power. Many a planter finds the whole income of an immense estate absorbed by the subsistence of his slaves. He is unwilling to sell them, and their rapid increase threatens to prove the ruin of his fortune. Said a gentleman of this description to the writer, "I should be a rich man if I had not a slave in the world."

It is a doctrine now generally admitted as true, by political economists, that the *labour of freemen is much cheaper than the*

labour of slaves; nor can this doctrine fail to produce consequences of the highest importance. Let the plans of the Colonization Society be admitted as practicable to any desirable extent, and it is impossible that this doctrine shall not be recognized as valid by several of the legislatures of the South, and introduced into their political measures. What is to be the effect of certain great movements in our world, in reference to a system, the existence of which, is lamented by almost all the candid and honourable in our country, we will not venture to predict. The discussion in England concerning the West Indies; the acknowledged independence of Hayti; the visit of general Lafayette to this country; the struggle of the Greeks; the incessant thunderings, if we may so speak, of Liberty's trumpet, shaking the world to its centre, seem ominous and not to be disregarded.

The plan of the Colonization Society, independent of any collateral objects which may, and we trust will, attend its execution, is itself great; it commends itself to the best men of every part of the Union, and promises, we think, more than any which has ever been devised, to bring into harmonious operation, to effect an object as dear to patriotism as to humanity, the powers of our country. To the colonization of

the Free People of Colour there can be no objection, and the magnitude and importance of the work are worthy of a National effort. And it is difficult to imagine, how this work being completed, any high-minded American could regret that its success should produce a general disposition to advance further, a voluntary consent to send to Africa, for our sakes, not less than theirs, our whole servile population. If this shall be never done, we may do much; the hope and expectation that it will be done, we certainly cherish. Such an expectation we indulge, because we think of its necessity—of the light of the age—of the noble spirit of our countrymen—of our ability—and of the religion of Christ.

One idea we wish deeply to impress upon the minds of all our friends, and that is the importance of *individual exertion*. In comparison with the many thousand professed friends to the Colonization Society, few we fear are the earnest, vigorous and persevering labourers in its cause. Scattered over our immense Territories, are numerous individuals who regard the cause of this Institution with interest, and pray for its triumph—but few, comparatively, spread through the population of their town or county, the influence of their opinions and emotions, hold up the sacred claims of Africa to the public eye

manfully and disinterestedly assert their validity, and loudly and repeatedly speak out their importance. Indifference on this subject is far more common than hostility. Let the *real* friends to this Society show themselves *active* friends, and its prosperity, with the favour of God, is certain. Truth has conquered and will conquer. The very sound of opposition is, we believe, dying away. The population of most parts of our land are prepared to act;—they require only leaders to excite them and direct their strength. How does our object appeal to the heart! Ours is no ordinary plan of charity; it proposes not to raise an asylum for a few hapless orphans, or for a small number of those whose ears are closed to the melodies of nature,

or worse, whose mental organization has been deranged by the hand of God. To thousands, shall we not say millions, it may prove as life to the dead. It would heal the deepest and most dangerous wound ever inflicted in the bosom of our country.—It would exterminate a trade, the enormity of which, words were not made to describe. It would illuminate a Continent. It would publish the name of Christ on the dark mountains of Africa, and the burning sands of the desert. It would kindle up holiness and hope among uncounted tribes, whose souls are as black, with crime and misery, as are the forms of matter that veil them. It would send down its blessings to all the generations of a suffering race, which may rise in all future time.

EXTRACT

FROM AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVE AFRICANS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SIERRA LEONE,

BY THOMAS WINTERBOTTOM.

THE female sex does not hold in Africa that distinguished rank in society which it happily enjoys in Europe; a circumstance which will not excite surprise, as it occurs among all rude and uncivilized nations. Montesque says, that the existence of a money medium is a certain mark of civilization; but it will probably be found a less fallible criterion, to judge by the degree of respect in which

women are held. Among the Arabs and eastern nations in general, women are in a state of degradation; all the menial offices, and some of the most laborious kind fall to their lot. The North American Indians also affect to hold them in the uttermost contempt. In Africa, women are regarded as beings of an inferior nature, and as born to be the slaves of man; they are not admitted to eat at the

same table, but must wait till their lord has finished his repast, when they are allowed the scraps which he may have left. Upon them devolves all the drudgery of the family; they not only cook, and wash, beat rice,* and clean it from the husk, but they cut down the underwood, assist in hoeing the ground, and they also carry the produce to market. The only labour from which they are excused, is felling the large wood to make a plantation, and rowing in canoes. In places near the sea, they are also busied in making salt,† though

* They beat the rice in wooden mortars, shaped somewhat like an hour glass, and called peloons; instead of a pestle they use a stake five or six feet long. The rice is beaten night and morning, before each meal, not from idleness, but because it is better preserved from insects while in the husk. Similar to this was the custom of the eastern nations, who ground their corn every day in hand mills as they wanted it. It is common to see a dozen women and girls ranged in a line beating rice, and while one sings, the others keep exact time, and join in the chorus. They are extremely careful, in the preparation of this their favourite grain, to free it from the husk, and to wash it from dust and every impurity.

† For this purpose the water of a creek, or of the sea at spring tides, is received into large shallow ponds, where it is permitted to evaporate by the heat of the sun; the saline crust which remains is scraped up with a portion of earth, and again dissolved in warm salt water, to which a quantity of wood ashes is added. The solution is poured into a bas-

ket of a conical form, at the apex of which a little straw is placed, to prevent the earthy matter from passing through; the solution is finally evaporated to dryness in large round, shallow, brass pans, called Neptunes, which are sent out from Europe in the way of trade.

that is generally the province of women who are advanced in years, and of old infirm men.

Polygamy is universally practised upon this coast, which tends still more to debase the female sex. Every man may have as many wives as his circumstances will allow him to maintain; his wealth is therefore estimated according to this criterion, and he rises in the esteem of his neighborhood in proportion to the number of his women*. The husband is at liberty, however, to employ his wives in the manner most advantageous to his own interest, and it is not uncommon to station some of them in different parts of the country as factors, an office which they execute with great fidelity. The ancient custom of purchasing the wife may be said in some measure to exist here, though the sum paid seldom amounts to more than a small present of cloth to the father or guardian, together with some tobacco and rum for an entertainment. The consent of the woman is scarcely necessary in making the contract, which is concluded by the husband and father

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* If it be asked whether such a person be rich? the answer is, "Oh, he has too much women."

with very little ceremony. Their marriages, however, are not indissoluble, as in case of ill usage from the husband, the woman, if free and of a powerful family, may call a palaver, and be separated from him. Polygamy, though the source of many evils, does not produce those violent commotions in families, which husbands in Europe might be led to apprehend. The women, by habit and education, are so much accustomed to the practice, that a young rival scarce excites in them any emotion of jealousy. A Foola woman of some consequence and much good sense, whose husband had four wives, being asked if she did not wish to reign alone, replied in the negative; for as she was not *company* for her husband, she would be quite at a loss for amusement, were it not for the conversation of his other wives*. The

* Polygamy has been considered, though on very insufficient grounds, as an insurmountable obstacle to the introduction of the christian religion in Africa. The Mahomedans, in propagating their tenets, have had to contend with obstacles apparently as insuperable—the use of spirits, for instance; which they have overcome by their zeal and steady perseverance. These people, in gaining proselytes, direct their chief care to the children, whose education they superintend with unremitting attention; but as it is necessary to obtain the sanction of the old people, who are highly flattered in being thought either Mahomedans or Christians, they overlook in them those habits of intemperance with long cus-

tom has rendered inveterate. As a further proof that christianity may flourish in a warm climate, the people of Abyssinia and Nubia are christians, and do not practise polygamy. But the history of primitive christianity has already proved the point.

first wife a man takes, enjoys a greater share of respect than the others, and retains the title of head woman, with a degree of enviable authority, long after her personal charms have ceased to enslave her husband's affections. Polygamy is not more adverse to the civilization of a country than to its population, and if we except China, those countries where this practice prevails will in general be found less populous than others. Many authors, however, are of different opinions, which they support by alleging, that some men in tropical countries have fifty or sixty children; this, however, is not so common as it is for a man in Europe to have a dozen; and when we reflect that they are the offspring of nearly as many women, who might each have borne three or four children, had each had her own husband, the loss of society will appear very great. Some have argued, among whom may be reckoned Mr. Bruce, that as a greater number of females are born in eastern nations than males, polygamy becomes a matter of political expediency; but the fact is questioned. Niebuhr is of opinion,

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that in the east there are not more females born than males; and although in the lists of births which he gives, the balance is somewhat in favour of the females, he adds, "allowing that this trifling superiority actually exist, it cannot have determined the eastern nations to polygamy." He further observes, "it cannot be doubted that polygamy hurts population. If there be instances that a man has had a number of children by several women, it has also been observed, that monogamists have in general more children than polygamists." I do not doubt the truth of this observation. Whatever disproportion may arise in other countries between the sexes, it certainly does not prevail in any material degree about Sierra Leone, where the number of men and women seem pretty equally balanced. This natural equality of the sexes, however, is destroyed by the prevalence of polygamy; although its effect is counteracted by the slave trade, which carries annually from the coast a considerably greater number of men than women. It is no uncommon practice, in order to cement a friendship more strongly, for two men to promise to each other for wives their unborn infants if they should prove to be females. Notwithstanding this, it is rare to see a man without a wife, solely from not being able to find one.

Agreeably to what has been al-

ready said, the population of the Windward Coast of Africa is extremely small; it would be very difficult to determine what may be the proportion of inhabitants to a given extent of country; but probably it is not so much as in the least populous countries in Europe. Mr. Smeathman confirms this remark; he observes that this country is so thinly peopled, "that we rarely find a town containing two or three hundred inhabitants within ten or fifteen leagues of another of the same population. The finest rivers will not have towns upon them, where, perhaps, there are a hundred persons, within a long tide's distance of each other*."

The length of the time women suckle their children, may be mentioned as another obstacle to population; as, during this period, which is generally two years, or until the child be able to bring to its mother a calabash full of water†, they are entirely separated from their husbands‡. It is rather a rare occur-

* Wadtrom Append.

† This practice, though in itself bad, is founded on prudential motives; for the mother, upon whom devolves the whole care of her children, is afraid of being burthened with a second offspring before the first can in some degree dispense with her continued care. It is very common for a woman who has a child, to procure another wife for her husband during the time she is nursing.

‡ During the period of mourning also for a friend or relation, the wife sepa-

rence to meet with women in Africa who have had more than three or four children. This is not occasioned by their leaving off child-bearing so very early in life, as is said to be the case in warm climates; for I have seen women have children who certainly were not younger than thirty-five or forty. Although the women are betrothed at a very early age, and, as has been said, even before *they are born*, the marriage seldom, if ever, takes place before the fourteenth year; and judging from appearances, no women in this part of Africa bear children before that age.

Another obstacle to the population of this country infinitely greater than any hitherto noticed, and more dreadful in its consequences than war, pestilence, and famine, is "that cruel trade which spoils unhappy Guinea of her sons," and which annually sends from her shores many thousands of young people in the bloom of life.

It may perhaps appear to contradict the observation already made respecting the low rank rates herself from her husband. The caprice or jealousy for the head woman, sometimes obliges a favourite rival to put on mourning upon some frivolous pretext, hoping at the same time to procure some presents from the husband to remove the restraint.

which women hold in Africa, to state, that men generally are named after their mothers; thus, Fenda Modoo, is Modoo or Mahommed the son of Fenda; and Namina Modoo, Mahommed the son of Namina; and the same may be said of the females, Kalee Namina, for instance, signifies Namina the daughter of Kalee. This arises probably from the practice of polygamy, which makes it easier among a number of children of the same family to distinguish them by their mothers' names, than if each had his father's prefixed. Among the Arabs it is usual for a man to add his father's name, and sometimes that of a favourite son to his own; but among the Turks it is not unfrequent to add that of the mother. The same custom is noticed by Herodotus*, as peculiar to the Lycians. Another reason for the general assumption of the mother's name may be found in the warmth of filial affection, which, where polygamy prevails, is usually in much more lively exercise towards mother's than towards fathers. I have been often gratified by observing the strength and tenderness of the attachment subsisting between mothers and their sons.

* Clio, clxxiii. a matribus nomina sibi induunt, non a patribus.

THE REV. LEONARD BACON'S
 PLEA FOR AFRICA, AND AN ADDRESS IN BEHALF OF THE COLO-
 NIZATION SOCIETY, BY
PEACHY GRATTAN, Esq.

Since the Fourth of July, various interesting pamphlets relating to the Colonization Society have appeared in our country. This fact argues well for our cause. It is evident that popular feeling is moved, and that a spirit of action is rising. The addresses from which we are about to make some extracts, are both able and eloquent: they are not made up of mere pathetic appeals, but are full of serious truths and arguments, which convince the reason, while they impress the heart. The pleasure with which we hold them up to publick attention is not a little augmented by the recollection that the one was delivered in New England, the other in Virginia. It is most gratifying on any subject of national interest, to witness a concurrence of sentiment between the gentlemen of the South and of the North; but especially do we rejoice to observe this concurrence in reference to a matter which has frequently (and we think unnecessarily) been discussed, with a degree of irritation and unkindness, entirely incompatible with any great and united movements to remedy or remove the evil by which it is occasioned. We believe indeed, that *one spirit*
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concerning the objects of the Colonization Society, begins to pervade most of the intelligent and candid minds in our country. God forbid! that any thing should disturb the harmony which is apparent, or prevent the citizens of these states, from exhibiting themselves as in one mass of wisdom and strength, to effect a purpose most strictly national, which demands National means, and which must bring the richest contribution to our National honour.

Mr. Bacon, though a young man, had, previous to the publication of his *Plea for Africa*, distinguished himself by a powerful effort in the African cause. The Review, from his pen, of the Reports of the Colonization Society, originally published in the *Christian Spectator*, and copied from this work into various other papers, and which was read with peculiar interest and pleasure at the South, will not soon be forgotten. While this production stood high in literary merit, it evinced a candour and comprehension of mind, rare as it is valuable; and for the want of which, on the subject discussed, the most powerful talent could have made no compensation.

In the very beautiful exordium

of the "Plea for Africa," Mr. Bacon describes, concisely, the past condition, and present prosperity of our country, and "looks forward," to national greatness and glory, compared with which, what we now boast of and admire, is "but as the dawning of day." With the expression of a devout heart, he ascribes all our deliverances, distinctions and hopes, to the "marvellous doings of Jehovah." Africa is thus described :

"I say, then, my fellow Christians, it is right that you should seek to shed over your gladness the sanctifying influence of devotion, and to connect the associations of this day with those principles and efforts of benevolence, that raise us to a fellowship with God. And standing here to speak for Africa to day, I will not affect a diffidence which I do not feel; for I know that with such a cause, and on such an occasion, I cannot plead before you in vain. I might indeed be diffident, if it were my task to excite within you, by the powers of language and fancy, the feelings of a transient benevolence: nay, I should despair of success, if I imagined I had any thing to do but simply to lay before you the degradation for which I would engage your sympathies, and the plans of doing good for which I would secure your efforts.

"In describing the misery of that devoted race, whose cause it is my lot to advocate, I can only tell you a story of simple, unalleviated, unromantic wretchedness. There are no spirit-stirring associations to break the monotony of the description. I can tell of no distant and shadowy antiquity, when Africa was the cradle of the human race, and the seat of science and arts and empire. I cannot compare the darkness that is now

resting on those tribes, with some period of ancient glory; nor can I enlighten the picture of their present degradation, by alluding to some former age of Arcadian felicity. There are no lighter shades to variegate the gloom. The wretchedness is so great and so unmingled, that the mind shrinks from the conception, and seems almost ready to take refuge in a vague and quiet credulity. And when I have told you what this wretchedness is, my plea is ended for the present,—I shall urge no other argument.

"The country for which I am pleading, extends from the Desart of Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. With the exception of here and there a tract of complete and desolate barrenness, this wide region is fertile, almost without a parallel, and the exuberance of its productions is such as we can only with difficulty imagine. It is a country varied, like our own fair land, with mountains and forests, and watered by "Streams that to the sea, roll ocean-like."

Abounding in all the resources that might minister employment or sustenance to a civilized and happy population, it is occupied by fifty millions of men, as wild as the forest they inhabit and almost as far removed from the high character and high destiny of our nature, as the lion and the tiger with whom they contend for the mastery of the soil. They are men indeed, with all the instincts of humanity, and they walk beneath their burning sky with the port and bearing of manhood. Theirs are the affections of kindred, the love of country and of home, and the kindness of savage hospitality. But they are barbarians—and with the nobler instincts of our nature, and the rude virtues of their condition, they combine all that is degrading in human imbecility, and all

that is horrible in human depravity, unrefined by civilization, and unrestrained by the influence of Christian truth. They are men indeed, and when individuals from among them have been placed in circumstances favourable to the developement of their powers, they have fully vindicated their title to all the honours of our nature. But in Africa, the basest superstition has conspired with the darkest ignorance, to stupify the intellect, as well as to brutalize the affections; and in both cases, their influence has been as deadly in its operation, as it is unlimited in its extent.

"Now, what one is there among you, my hearers, who needs to be informed that these fifty millions of immortal beings, thus brought down to the very level of the brutes that perish, have a claim upon the sympathies of Christians; Do you find it difficult to conceive of their condition? It is just what yours would be, if all the arts, and knowledge, and refinement of our land, were to vanish, and the darkness of paganism were to settle on all the shrines of our devotion. It is just what it must be, where treachery and lust are unforbidden, where rapine and murder are unrestrained, and where all the horrors of a savage warfare are perpetual.

"Yes, in Africa the horrors of savage warfare are perpetual. Not that these tribes are created with a peculiar ferocity of disposition: so far from it, their nature seems to possess an uncommon share of what is mild and amiable. And yet, you might traverse the whole region of which I speak, and you would find it, in all its districts, a theatre of terror, flight, conflagration, murder, and whatever is still more dreadful in earthly suffering. You might come to one place, where there was a village yesterday, and find only its smoking ruins, and the calcined bones of its murdered popula-

tion. You might pass on to another, and think that here there must be peace, but while the inhabitants are beginning to gather around you, with a timid curiosity, there is an outcry of alarm—the foe is upon them—their houses are in flames—their old men are smitten with the sword—their infants are thrown to the tigers, and their young men are swept into captivity. You might follow the captives—weeping, bleeding—to the sea-shore; and there is the slave ship. We have heard of the slave trade, and of its abolition; and we have been accustomed to regard it as a thing of other years. We have heard that thirty years ago, the slave trade did exist, and its existence was the foulest blot upon the picture of our world. We have heard that those who have been labouring for the abolition of this traffic, have gained many a signal triumph over the obstinacy of the interested, and the prejudices of the ignorant; so that now, the two most enlightened and commercial nations of the world, who have one origin, one language, one religion, and we might almost say one freedom, are also united in declaring the slave trade piracy; and have thus denounced it before the world, as an outrage against the law of nations and of nature. All this is true, and at the same time it is equally true, that the slave trade is carried on, at this hour, with a cruelty, if possible, more intense and aggravated. Every year no less than sixty thousand of its victims are carried in chains across the ocean. Now, while I am speaking to this happy assembly, there is weeping and lamentation, under the palm trees of Africa; for mothers have been plundered of their children, and will not be comforted. To day, the slave ships are hovering over that devoted coast, from the Senegal to the Zaire. To night, as the African lies down in his

cabin, he will feel no security; and as he sleeps, he will dream of conflagration and blood, till suddenly he awakes, and his roof is blazing above him, his wife is bleeding at his feet, his children lie fettered and helpless before him, and ere he can grasp the weapons of despair, the cold steel of the murderer is in his vitals.

"It would be utterly impossible for me, or indeed for any man, to transcend, in description, the actual horrors of this trade, as they have been exhibited, again and again, in the testimony of sworn witnesses, and, as many of you have seen them exhibited, from the records of judicial tribunals. You cannot therefore suspect me of attempting to impose on your feelings. I wish only to impress it on your minds, that the slave trade, though abolished by law, has never been suppressed in fact;—and then to leave it for you to judge whether the cruelty of which you have so often heard, and which was so great when the traffic was acknowledged by law, and defended by argument, is likely to be less, now that the traffic has become contraband, and the subject of universal execration; so that the slave-trader is governed not only by the natural baseness of his cupidity, but by the terror of detection, and the greater risk of loss, and by the consciousness of being outlawed from the sympathies of human society.

"This horrible commerce in the blood of men, has existed for ages; and the consequence is, that there are now descendants of Africa in every quarter of the globe. For them I plead to day, as well as for their brethren on their native continent; because wherever the children of Africa are found, they are one nation; a separate, distinct, peculiar people. I plead for the whole race; and my argument with you in their behalf is, that wherever they are found, they are

partakers in the misery of a common degradation.—To establish this, I need not carry you out of the streets and lanes of our own city. You would scorn the imputation, and justly, if I should suggest that there is any thing here which subjects the African to peculiar disadvantages. On the contrary, it would seem far otherwise; inasmuch as slavery never existed here to any considerable extent, and for years it has been a thing unknown. Yet when you look over this city, what do you find to be the actual state and character of its coloured population? How many of the privileges which belong to other classes of society do they enjoy? How much of the happiness in which you are now rejoicing is theirs? How many of the motives, which are urging you to honest industry or to honorable enterprise, are operating upon them? Who among them ever aspires to wealth or office, or ever dreams of intellectual pursuits or intellectual enjoyments? In short, are they not, in the estimation of the community, and in their own consciousness, alien and outcasts in the midst of the people? Now I am willing that you should take the condition of the children of Africa here, as a fair specimen of their condition, wherever they are scattered. I am willing you should believe, for the moment, that the negro is nowhere more ignorant, nowhere more despised or oppressed, than here. But at the same time, I ask you to remember, that within our own borders there are nearly two millions of these beings, and in the Archipelago of the West Indies, not less than two millions more; and then, when you have computed the amount of wretchedness which belongs to these four millions of degraded men, to judge for yourselves whether the subjects of this degradation have no claim on the sympathies and efforts of those

who have been taught to love their neighbour as themselves."

We have seldom perused a passage more pathetic than the following, in which that mental degradation and servitude which millions of the African race have for centuries endured, is truly and strikingly depicted:

"We can conceive indeed of stripes, and corporal endurance, and long days of burning toil; but how can we conceive of that bondage of the heart, that captivity of the soul, which make the slave a wretch indeed? His intellect is a blank, and we may, perhaps, form some conception of his ignorance. The capacities of his moral nature are a blank, and we may, perhaps, imagine that blindness. But even when we have conceived of this intellectual ignorance, and this moral blindness, we know not all the degradation of the slave. We sometimes find an individual whose spirit has been broken and blasted. Some affection which engrossed his soul, and with which all his other affections were entwined, has been withered, and his heart is desolate. The hope on which all his other hopes were centered, has been destroyed, and his being is a wreck. If you have ever seen such a man, and noticed how he seemed to lose the high attributes of manhood, how his soul died within him, and he sunk down as it were, from the elevation of his former existence,—you may conjecture, perhaps, how much of the dignity and happiness of our nature, even in minds purified by moral cultivation, and enlarged by intellectual improvement, depends on the love of social enjoyment, and the softening influence of affection; and you may thus be able faintly to imagine the degradation of the slave, whose mind has

scarcely been enlightened by one ray of knowledge, whose soul has never been expanded by one adequate conception of his moral dignity and moral relations, and in whose heart hardly one of those affections that soften our character, or of those hopes that animate and bless our being, has been allowed to germinate."

After these glowing, but just descriptions of the wretchedness of Africa, and of the African race, the author states the problem—"to give peace and happiness to the continent of Africa, and to elevate all her children to the rank which God has given them in the scale of existence." "As one of these objects cannot be gained without affecting the other; so if we should be successful in the pursuit of either, we must aim at the attainment of both."

Mr. Bacon's argument is this—"by civilizing and christianizing the African continent, the degradation of Africans in other countries may be removed." For it is evident that such a civilization of Africa, implies at its outset the final abolition of the slave trade; and this once destroyed, one grand obstacle to the improvement of the Africans is removed. Again, "let there be erected one free and intelligent African empire, and the reproach of the negro will cease."—And finally, let Africa be filled with the industry of a free and enterprising population, and slavery can exist no lon-

ger; because it is a principle which the progress of political science has clearly and indisputably established, *that it is cheaper to hire the labour of freemen, than it is to compel the labour of slaves.*

"And thus, whenever the civilized and enterprising population of Africa shall send forth their productions to compete in every market, with the sugar, and cotton, and coffee, of the West Indies and Southern America, the planters will be compelled, by that spirit of improvement which always springs from competition, to substitute the cheaper process for the more expensive, to adopt the labour of freemen instead of the labour of slaves; in a word, to convert their slaves into freemen.

"The conclusion from the principle which I have attempted to illustrate and apply is, let Africa be civilized, and every African throughout the world will be made a freeman, not by some sudden convulsion, demolishing the fabric of society, but by the tendencies of nature and the arrangements of Providence, slowly yet surely accomplishing the happiness of man. The change will be certain indeed, as the revolution of the seasons, but gradual as the growth of an empire."

It is equally true, says the Author, that, by elevating the character of Africans in foreign countries, the civilization of their native continent may be greatly and rapidly promoted. For the civilization of Africa must evidently be produced by the return of her exiled children.

"We see, then, that by civilizing Africa, the degradation of Africans in

other countries may be forever and completely removed; and by elevating the character of these exiles, the civilization of their native continent may be easily effected. And if these two objects are thus intimately blended, so that the first can be perfectly gained only by means of the second, and the complete attainment of the second is equally dependent on the first; it requires no great sagacity to reach the conclusion that any efforts which may aim at either, must be imperfect in themselves and inadequate to their end, till they shall become the parts of such a system of exertions as shall comprehend in its design the accomplishment of both. And it is equally evident, that whenever such a system shall be organized, every thing that may be done to give new impulse to any one department of its operation, will accelerate the motion and increase the momentum of the whole."

We must bring our extracts to a conclusion, by the following passage relating more immediately to the American Colonization Society:

"After having detained you so long, I will not exhaust your patience by detailing the plans, or the history, or the prospects of the American Colonization Society. You know that its design is to establish on the coast of Africa, colonies of free people of colour from America; and after what I have already said, I need not trace out the influence which the successful prosecution of this design must have on the civilization of that continent, or on the character and happiness of our own coloured population. You can imagine for yourselves how such a colony, founded in the principles of America freedom, and supported by American liberality and enterprise,

would grow and flourish, giving a new employment and a new direction to commerce, adorning with villages and cultivated fields the land that is now half desolate with the ravages of the slave trade, and overspread with the untamed luxuriance of the wilderness. You can imagine how the rude tribes, gazing with astonishment on the arts of a civilized community, would soon become desirous of sharing in a power so wonderful; and being cut off from that traffic in each other's blood, by which they live, would gradually engage in those pursuits, and acquire that knowledge with which a people must commence the career of improvement. You can imagine how the light of Christian truth might be made to beam forth on the benighted Pagans. You can imagine how the negro, here despised and broken-spirited, would there stand up in the full majesty of manhood, and with the inspiration of all the motives that are stimulating you to enterprize and effort. You can imagine too, how all this might operate for the improvement and happiness of the African who should remain among us, exciting him to industry, and bestowing upon him the consciousness of wider and higher capacities. Leaving all this to your reflections, I will only say, that though the Society has contended from the beginning, and is still struggling with grievous embarrassments, its disappointments have been fewer, its calamities less terrible, and its success more rapid, than ever attended the progress of any similar enterprize. It has obtained a rich and beautiful territory, adequate to all its present purposes. It has succeeded in planting there a colony, now consisting of nearly four hundred individuals, who are rapidly preparing the means of sustenance, not only for themselves, but also for the thousands who are anxious to join them.

"So far as the experiment has been conducted, it has been successful; and all that the managers now need, for the rapid prosecution of their designs, is the voice of public opinion to cheer them on, and to direct for their assistance, the energies of our national councils; the contributions of the benevolent, to give them strength, and the prayers of the churches, to call down upon them the blessing of heaven. The voice of public opinion in favor of this enterprize, is becoming louder and louder. In every section of our country, the ministers of Jesus have been pleading for it to day. From hundreds of churches the cry of supplication has gone up to heaven in its behalf. And not a few are the freemen, who in the midst of their rejoicing to day, have remembered the miseries of Africa, and offered their contributions for her relief. Can you withhold from such an enterprize *your* voice of approbation? Can you, if you pray for any thing—can you refuse to pray for this undertaking? Can you look round on the abundance wherewith God has blessed you, and refuse to bestow some little offering in behalf of such a cause?"

Mr. GRATTAN's address was delivered before the Auxiliary Colonization Society of Rockingham County, Virginia, and is throughout lucid and impressive, and well adapted to advance the great cause of that Institution. Of the influence and condition of the free coloured people, the author thus speaks:

"*Mr. Chairman.* The object of the Society is immediately directed to colonizing the free people of colour. Did their designs extend no further, and were they to put an end to their

labours when this object shall be effected, although the evil will not have been removed in all its extent; yet would their services be such, as to deserve the grateful remembrance of their country, as well as of the people who are the objects of their care.

Mr. Chairman. The evils which arise from the communication of the free people of colour with our slaves, must be obvious to every reflecting mind; and the consequences which may result from this communication at some future day, when circumstances are more favourable to their views, are of a more alarming character. Sir, circumstances must have brought us to the conclusion, if our observation had not enabled us to make the remark, that it is natural for our slaves, so closely allied to the free black population by national peculiarities, and by relationship, to make a comparison between their respective conditions, and to repine at the difference which exists between them. This is a serious evil, and can only be removed by preventing the possibility of a comparison.

"Sir, there is another evil arising from this connexion of no small magnitude, and with which the owners of slaves has but too much cause to be acquainted. It is the demoralizing effect produced upon these last, by the encouragement and reward which is afforded them for the commission of crime, and the indulgence of their vicious propensities. Let us effect our object, and this temptation to err will be entirely suppressed, or greatly diminished. In fine, Sir, by removing these people, we rid ourselves of a large party who will always be ready to assist our slaves in any mischievous design which they may conceive; and who are better able, by their intelligence, and the facilities of their com-

munication, to bring those designs to a successful termination.

"These, Sir, are some of the reasons which, if we look to our own interest, and to the course which policy dictates, would require and demand of us to further the schemes of the Society.

"But, Sir, while I do not pretend to be of the number of those who are entirely free from the controul of selfish considerations, I hope that we do not come here to day insensible to the influence of other emotions. Sir, the calls of humanity are loud in favour of this unfortunate people; and I conceive that the whispers of filial piety are not too low to be heard. Although not entirely divested of the liberty of choice, or the power of acquisition, yet are they cut off from every political privilege.—They have no connection with their lawgivers; no common interest with those under whose controul and government they live. Sir, they feel themselves to be, as they really are, a degraded people; and they possess the vicious propensities, and the immoral habits, which necessarily arise from their condition. Mr. Chairman, let us recollect that our fathers have placed them here; and that our prejudices, prejudices too deep to be eradicated while they remain among us, have produced the standard of their morals. Will we not endeavour to repair the wrong which our fathers and ourselves have done to this people; and by returning them to their own ancient land of Africa, improved in knowledge and in civilization, repay the debt which has so long been due them."

Mr. Grattan very boldly expresses the hope, that benefits, reaching to others than to the free people of colour, will result from the plan of African Colonization.

“Mr. Chairman. We have hitherto considered the Society as confined in its views to colonizing the free people of colour. But, Sir, while our exertions are immediately directed to this object, we hope, and not without reason, that the benefits resulting from our labours will be much more extensive. Sir, we anticipate the day when our fellow-citizens, in every part of the United States, shall freely, gratuitously, and of their own accord, without constraint, and without compulsion, not only give their assent, but their exertions, to the emancipation and colonization of every individual slave between St. Croix and the Sabine; the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.—And, Sir, if there be considerations which may induce us to unite in the efforts that are making to colonize the free people of colour, these considerations must operate with tenfold force whilst we indulge these hopes and these expectations. Not policy, not humanity alone, call for our exertions in this cause; but necessity admitting no excuse, allowing no apology, demands them of us. Sir, the number of our slaves already amounts to two millions; and they increase with a rapidity that is truly astonishing. Their numbers at present in some parts of our country may well be the cause of alarm; but these must be considered as trifling, when compared with the produce of another century. If we could be capable of retaining them in ignorance and of preventing the operation of their reasons, then might we continue to retain them in their present condition, notwithstanding their increase. But this cannot be. The most casual observer must have noticed their advancement in intelligence and reflection, and, Sir, when the powers of the mind are brought into action, the bondage of the body must cease.”

The extract, with which we conclude, will show the means which Mr. Grattan thinks indispensable to effect the high objects of the Colonization Society, and the grounds of hope that these means will be obtained.

“But, Mr. Chairman, while we conceive we are justified in saying that it is not a little that has been already done, we are not such enthusiasts as to suppose that the Colonization Society can, by its unaided efforts, remove this great and growing evil. Sir, it is national in its character, and will require national means to remove it. Charity, though liberal in her exertions, and persevering in her efforts, is not adequate to the removing the diseases of the body politic. It is then, and we avow it, not to our sole exertions that we look for the accomplishment of our design. Our Governments must, and will take this matter into their hands; and whenever they shall do so, there can be no longer any doubt as to the result. It were certainly a useless business to enter a calculation here, in order to shew that these United States have funds sufficient to effect this purpose. Whatever doubts men may choose to express, as to the ability of the society to do this, or however they may doubt whether the Governments can, or will take up the matter, none, I believe, have ever yet been so hardy as to deny that there were means sufficient to enable them to do it with success, when they shall make the attempt.

“Mr. Chairman. It is true there are difficulties in this matter. The States may not be able to act in unison upon the subject, while there may be objections to any interference in it by the General Government. But, Sir, it is not

necessary that we should be able to perceive the precise manner in which this great work may or will be managed. It is sufficient for us to know that, in this country, the will of the people is the law of the land, and whenever they shall demand the removal of our black population, that then these difficulties will vanish; and the path to be pursued will lie in noon-day brightness before them.

"Still, Sir, it may be a question with many, whether this scheme will ever attain to such popularity with the people, as to enforce its prosecution upon the Government. In forming an opinion upon this subject, we can only judge of the events of the future, by the experience of the past; and, taking that for our guide, there certainly is every reason to anticipate a favourable result.

"Sir, as I have before stated, the Parent Society dates its existence from the December of eighteen hundred and sixteen. A project so new in its design, and relating to a matter of so much importance and delicacy, might well have been expected to meet with opposition; and accordingly it did. The practicability of the plan was denied. Its expediency and propriety called into question. The climate, soil, health, and population of Africa, traduced and abused as unfit for the purpose,—The motives of the individuals engaged in the project, misconstrued and misrepresented. The disparaging epithets of theoretical visionaries, speculative politicians, sublimated enthusiasts, and moon-struck madmen, were thrown about in lavish profusion, by those who too selfish in their feelings to be moved by the misfortunes of others, or too contracted in their views to see beyond the present appearance of things, were willing to cloak their want of humanity, by the guile of superior sagacity; or to consider as impossible to be accomplished,

what was beyond the grasp of their understanding. But, Sir, a project which has enlisted in its service such men as Washington, as Crawford, as Harper, and as Marshall, is not to be decried as the bubble of a heated imagination, and accordingly we find that the day of opposition is past; and although a murmur may sometimes be heard, it is like a last faint echo, dying away in the distance, only worthy of notice because it is the last.

"*Mr. Chairman.* This Society, which a few years ago rose like the small cloud of Elijah, above the horizon, has now, in defiance of opposition, extended itself from Maine to Georgia; and its Auxiliary Societies may be found in every part of our country. The scheme of colonization has been approved by the legislatures of Virginia, New-Jersey, Connecticut, and Ohio, and even those who are not burdened by the slave population, are willing to consider it as a national evil, to be removed by national means. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church has recommended it to the favourable consideration of those who are under their controul: and in this they have acted in accordance with the Methodist, the Baptist, and the Dutch-Reformed Churches. Several of our Seminaries of learning are also its advocates. Many of our most respectable prints are with us. It has even found supporters in the Halls of Congress. And our mothers, our wives, and sisters, always foremost in every benevolent and charitable design, are, with one heart, and one voice, enlisted in its service. Sir, the influence arising from these various sources, all of which tend to the same purpose, must be irresistible. Here, Sir, we see our Societies propagating and extending their opinions in every part of the country. We see our Legislators in their halls, the Clergy in the

pulpit, Professors in their lecture rooms, Editors at their presses, and last, but not least, the ladies in their parlours, all uniting their efforts to give popularity to the scheme. Sir, with such causes, in operation, the effect must be produced; and we may with confidence anti-

cipate the day when there will be but one opinion entertained upon the subject; one wish felt by the people: when but one spirit will animate our exertions; one event satisfy our desires, and put an end to our labours."

EXTRACT

FROM NILES'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

WE republish the following article, not because we give our full approbation to every sentence or sentiment which it contains, but because we think many of the facts, statements, and arguments, it exhibits, are of the highest concern to our country. We wish it may receive the profound attention of all our patriotic statesmen-

"LIVE THE CONSTITUTION!"

This was the heading of one of the editorial essays in the REGISTER when, in the memorable year 1814, I was engaged in exposing the wickedness and weakness of certain mad seekers of power in the east, seemingly resolved "TO RUIN OR TO RULE THE STATE;" and little then did I suppose that I should resort to it again to direct the attention of the readers of this work to similar, but less reasonable or excusable, proceedings of some politicians in the south, with whom it has been my common practice to think and act, on political subjects, for almost thirty years past: but that which was wrong in the one cannot be right

in the other, and the progress or safety of the constitution cannot any more be submitted to the factions of the south than to those of the east.

"I wish it clearly understood that I am not in the least alarmed by the governor of Georgia's *"call to arms,"* or by the agitations which are attempted in some other states, for, (as I believe,) party political purposes!—but it is the injunction of WASHINGTON, and the duty of every good citizen, *"to frown indignantly on the first dawnings of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."* And, as "prevention is always better than cure," it is true policy to meet such things at their beginning, that, if possible, they may be stifled in their birth—which is not a difficult matter to do, I should presume, in the present instance; because it cannot be supposed that the people of the south are less attached to the union than those of any other part of the republic, or more willing

that the inestimable blessings which they derive from it should even be questioned, *because certain individuals are not in office, or cannot direct the affairs of the General Government just as they please!*

"Commerce" was the great stalking horse in the east, that political power might pass out of the hands of those who then held it—and now it is "*slavery or no slavery,*" to use the language of Governor Troup and others, that is to be the rallying word in the south! It is no more intended to disturb the last, than it was to destroy the former. Indeed, *every body* disavows a right in the government, and there is no disposition in the people to interfere with the "slave question," as it now stands, unless in the way of friendly suggestion, and disinterested advice—and yet this *black* subject is broached to cause an agitation, which, if ever it goes beyond fulminating words, can tend only to the swift destruction of the intemperate authors of it.

"I may, hereafter, examine the pretences on which this clamor is attempted to be raised, and endeavour to point out the object of it; but, at present, prefer the demonstration of two facts—1st, that the people of the "free states" CANNOT be jealous of the "slave holding states," or possess a wish

to "intermeddle" with them, for the acquisition of political power, because they have all which they need already, or soon must possess it, without any effort;—and, 2dly, shew it to be the unquestionable PECUNIARY INTEREST of the former, that the latter shall remain as they are. If these things are established—and that they will be I have no manner of doubt, we shall be at a loss to find out any other motive to operate on the people of the "free states," and justify the suspicion of what is so broadly and foolishly, if not also wickedly, set forth, by political fire-brands in the south, to disturb the public repose.

"It may be well, however, just to mention the pretences on which this clamor is founded, if foundation it can be said to have at all, except in the disturbed imaginations of those who make it. The first is the resolution of Mr. King, submitted to the senate, and expressive of his *opinion*, that, *after* the public debt is paid, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands should be appropriated to the *emancipation* and *removal* of such slaves, *as by the laws of the several states may be respectively allowed*—and the second is, certain expressions, imputed to Mr. Wirt, attorney general of the United States, and said to have been used by him in dis-

curring a case before the supreme court.

"As to the first—the project of "emancipation and removal," is substantially* as old as the first term of Mr. Jefferson's administration, and has three times been pressed on the consideration of the general government by the legislature of Virginia!—and its principle is the same as that on which the "American Colonization Society" is now acting; and yet this society is a great favorite with many of the chief slave-holders in the United States. And, as to expending the public money for such purposes, it is now *really done* in the protection afforded by the navy to the colony at Liberia. This has never been objected to, but, I believe, universally approved of. The amount of the cost or of the services rendered to the colonists, does not affect the principle. If the arm of the United States can be rightfully extended one inch, or a cent of the public money be expended, for the protection and support of this colony, the whole military force of the nation, and all its surplus funds, may be devoted to a similar object, under the direction of Congress. But Congress has no right to interfere with property in slaves; and the men

* That is, as to the aid of the general government, in removing the emancipated.

that would seriously think of it, ought to be ranked in the same class of agitators that I am reproving, except that the *motive* might be more praise-worthy.† And if it be objected, that Mr. King believes the public funds may be rightfully used to purchase, emancipate and remove the slaves, surely the "free states," which have a much deeper interest in these funds than the "slave states," (on account of their superior population and excess of contributions to the public purse), ought to be the *first to complain of it*—and especially so, when I shall shew it is the *pecuniary interest* of the people of the "free states" that slavery should exist in the south, as at present it does. I am not myself favourable to Mr. King's project, on several accounts—but it will be time enough to consider it *when the public debt is paid off*, and we are at a loss to know what to do with our money!

"As to the second, it is most clearly shewn that Mr. Wirt not only did not use the words im-

† The effect on the welfare of the people of this union is the same, whether the inscription, "the Potomac the boundary—the negro states to themselves," be *again* set up by a mad fool and traitor in the east—or some other like madman and traitor in the south, were now to cry out, *the Potomac the boundary—the commercial and manufacturing states by themselves.*

puted to him; but he expressly declared, that, as to the case before the court, he had no instruction from the government whatever!

Not being of those who have abused the people of the south, on account of their slaves, or one of the few that wildly have talked of a general emancipation, as proper to be brought suddenly about, I hope that they, for whom I feel most interested, will patiently read and carefully consider the momentous facts which I shall respectfully submit to them—being conscious that I have not intended, in the least, to misrepresent or distort any thing connected with the matters under examination; nor, on a cautious review of the subject, do I see any reason to believe that I am *mistaken*. It is perfectly known to every reader of the REGISTER, that I am entirely opposed to slavery and the slave system, whether of white men, under the ordinances of the “holy alliance,” or of black men, by virtue of the laws of England, France and many other European nations, and those of the United States;—yet, that I have never agitated or disturbed “the question” as it now rests. On the contrary, to the best of my abilities, I have vindicated and defended this class of my fellow-citizens against the unprincipled attacks of British writers, whose ancestors it was that *forced* this

curse on their southern colonies in America, which, it is to the glory of *Virginia*, that she resisted before the revolution. And as to a general or sudden *emancipation*, in the present condition of the slaves, without the removal of those emancipated, I regard it as chiefly another phrase to express an idea of *extermination*: for, admitting that the blacks might be freed and retain their present location, without its being necessary that the whites should destroy them, for the defence of their own persons and property, which I do not believe is probable—experience has shewn us that their numbers will rapidly decline, through their improvidence and want of knowledge how to take care of themselves. As I have observed, on another occasion, Malthus never thought of such a “check to population,” and yet it is a powerful one. The bills of mortality for New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c. always shew an excess proportion of deaths among the free blacks, whether compared with the amount of the white population in these cities, or the few slaves that may be in them, or such as are located elsewhere. Those matters, however, do not come up for discussion at this time, and I only refer to them to express my opinion, that any scheme for a general emancipation, which does not, also, take in a project for colonization, or at

least of removal, is hostile to the safety of the free population, and must needs abridge the duration of the lives of those on whom it is intended to confer a benefit. It is possible, that "a man had better be dead than alive,"—but the surest and best proof of comfortable living, is the duration of life; and comfort depends as much on a peculiar construction of the mind, as in personal convenience—the value of the last is more determined by the action of the mind than by the enjoyment of the body.

Population of what are called the "free states," in 1790—to wit, Massachusetts, (including Maine,) New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, - 2,027,248

Deduct for the *slaves* then in these states, - - - - 49,254

Free inhabitants in 1790, 1,977,994

Population of the same states in 1820, with that of the new "free states" of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Maine, and the territory of Michigan, - - - - 5,225,107

Whole probable population*

* The "probable population" is taken from some calculations made in this paper—see Vol. XXII, page 341; and considerable faith is placed in their nearness to what the result of the census will shew as the amount and location of the people of the United States in 1830, from the success that attended similar calculations, prospectively made, as to the population in 1820. If any thing unexpected has happened since these facts were presumed, (July 1822,) it is decidedly in favor of a greater augmentation of persons in the "free states"—because in them it is, that all, or nearly all, the great internal improvements

of the "free states," in 1830, - - - - 7,250,000

"Federal number" for electing representatives to Congress, after 1830, *the same.*

Population of the "slave holding states," in 1790—to wit, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, - - - 1,893,078

Deduct slaves, - - - 648,437

Free population in 1790, 1,244,641

Population of the same states in 1820, with that of the new "slave holding states" of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri and the territory of Arkansas, - 4,367,588

Deduct slaves, - - - 1,528,452

Free population in 1820, 2,839,136

Whole probable population of the "slave holding states," in 1830, - - - 5,500,000

[Of whom almost two millions! will be *slave*]

"Federal number" for electing representatives to Congress after 1830, - - - 4,700,000

Gross excess of population in the "free states," in 1790, only - - - 34,170

The same, in 1820, - - - 857,519

The same, (probable,) in 1830, - - - 1,750,000

Excess of *free* population in the "free states," in 1790, 733,353

The same, in 1820, - - - 2,388,000

The same, (probable,) in 1830—about - - - 3,600,000

Majority of "federal numbers" in the "free states," in 1790, - - - 375,000

The same, in 1820, - - - 1,470,000

The same, (probable,) in 1830, 2,500,000

Now let us look at the progress of the power of representation, in those different classes of states:

are making, new manufactories established, &c. which, it is needless to say, mightily increase a people, by furnishing the means of their subsistence, which encourages marriage, and does away the *fear* of having families to support.

By the census of	Whole No. in Congress.	From the "free states."
1790	105	52
1800	142	78
1810	186	106
1820	212	123
1830†	225	136

From the "slave Majority in favour
holding states," of the "free states."

1790	47	5
1800	64	14
1810	80	26
1820	89	34
1830†	89	45

As to the power of the states in the senate:—The "free states" are Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, 13—shewing a present majority of two states. Michigan will, probably, be added before 1830, to this class of states, and Arkansas or Florida may be so to the other. After these, no additions can be made to the "slave states;" but several new "free states," fronting on both banks of the Mississippi, north of Illinois and Missouri, may be expected to rise up in a very few years.

It is not worth while, however, to look forward beyond 1830—for the "free states" will then have a *positive majority* in the house of representatives of the United States, equal to one half of the *whole force* of the "slave holding states" in that body. What

greater degree of *political* power can be asked than this, when backed by such a vast superiority of *physical* strength, if it should be thought proper to disturb the slave question, or determine any other matter by considerations growing out of real or supposed oppositions of interest between the two classes of states? It is idle—nay, it is wicked, to encourage the idea that the "free states" are jealous of the political power of the "slave states." They may have been, but cannot now be.

Yet there are other and very important matters to be seriously considered, as having direct relation to the imposing facts above presented, to shew the march of *political*, as well as of *moral* and *physical* power, if either shall ever be brought to bear upon the "slave question," which Heaven forbid! except in the way of friendly counsel and generous assistance, if the first be deemed acceptable, or the second is required. *Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland*, cannot long have a deep interest in slaves as property, and, in general, they are unprofitable in these states, as they must necessarily be in any section of our country that is *manufacturing, commercial or grain-growing*; for SLAVERY IS DIRECTLY OPPOSED TO THE COMMON PROSPERITY OF A PEOPLE ENGAGED IN EITHER OF THOSE PURSUITS. This is easily demonstrated by the single fact,

† The ratio being fixed at 50,000. See Weekly Register, Vol. XXII, page 341, &c.

that free labour can be hired, in the "free states," by the year, *for the interest of the money vested in slaves*, (at the high prices which they *have* brought for the cultivation of cotton and sugar,) and the cost of clothing and taking care of them! And if, to this plain matter of fact, we add the "tear and wear" of slaves, the losses in them by diseases and death, and the subsistence of those necessary to *keep up the stock and who are not fitted for the field*, we shall easily arrive at the conclusion, that any given quantity of labour, suited to the constitution and habits of the free whites, can be performed at a less expense by them than by slaves—and besides, when a farmer does not want his free labourers, he may discharge them, but the slaves must be kept and maintained all the year round. These remarks are applicable to *every* business in which the white man labours for himself, either on his own farm or in his own manufactory or workshop; and it is presumed that no one will venture to question the force of the proposition, because it is nakedly and plainly an obstinate truth. If, therefore, the four great interests of our country, the *farming*, the *planting*, the *manufacturing* and the *commercial* ALL prosper, slave labour will be perpetually pressing into the second and excluding from the

other three, as surely as men shall pursue that which is most profitable to them. What irresistible proof of this momentous fact do we need? Look at the world!—*the freest nations are the most prosperous and powerful*; they always have been so. Place Greece against Asia in old times, and Great Britain against Russia in the present day. What were, or are, herds of dronish slaves compared with bee-like communities of freemen? And, for a more familiar example, what is the *production* of enslaved Ireland, compared with the freer mistress kingdom England? Yet the Irish are not less industrious or less capable of labour than the English—but they want those stimulants to industry which the hope of bettering one's condition so abundantly supplies. The slave is only a labouring-machine, not to be moved by a zeal to excel, for to excel will not benefit him any thing. 'Tis sufficient that he does his day's work, and has no thought for the morrow. He has no hope. His opinion is settled that he will always be a slave.

To apply these things to the condition of the states just named, Missouri will probably be the first of them to enact laws for the extinction of slavery, notwithstanding there was so great a desire to introduce it. The admission of slaves has *naturally*

checked the emigration of free labouring whites, and, no doubt, kept away tens of thousands of those classes of society which are, not only specially advantageous to new states, but indispensable to the prosperity of every society. A nation of kings, lords, masters, lawyers, doctors or priests, would be a very contemptible one; but a nation of ploughmen, mechanics and artizans, will *command* respect—for they have free souls and strong arms! The press of population to Missouri, was immediately stopped on the admission of slaves; and it now halts in Ohio, Michigan, Indiana or Illinois, except that small part which, chiefly from the southern Atlantic states, goes to Alabama and Florida—but these last are not the “hives” to supply inhabitants for new lands; and that part of the free people who leave them are those whom they can the worst spare. Missouri is a *grain-growing* state—it also abounds in minerals; it will become a *manufacturing* state, and great efforts are making to open and extend a valuable *commerce* between it and the interior provinces of Mexico. If either of these succeed and become profitable, (and we hope that each of them may,) the inevitable consequence will be an influx of population from the “free states;” and, if the present majority of the people are really in favour of the slave

system, as adapted to their wants or promotive of their interests, (a matter very much to be doubted,) they will soon be over-ruled by the new emigrants, whose principles, or prejudices, are opposed to it, and who are desirous also of preserving the DIGNITY OF LABOUR, by the exclusion of slaves. Very few slaves are now introduced into Missouri—their transport is to the south,* for the cultivation

*“Their transport is to the south!” Yes—and it is a melancholy truth; but I do not wish to dwell upon it further than to shew the fact.

	SLAVES.		
	In 1790.	In 1800.	In 1820
Maryland,	103,036	107,707	107,398
Virginia,	292,627	346,968	425,153
N. Carolina,	100,572	133,196	205,117
	496,235	587,871	737,668
S. Carolina,	107,091	146,151	251,783
Georgia,	29,264	59,699	149,656
Alabama,	-	-	41,879
Louisiana,	-	-	69,064
Mississippi,	-	3,489	32,841
	136,355	209,339	545,223

The first class of states are what may be called tobacco or rice planting, though, latterly, in North-Carolina, large quantities of cotton have been raised and some also in Vir. The second class are the cotton or sugar planting; and the *rush* of the slave population into them is fearfully great. The three first had *five sevenths* of the whole slave population in 1790, but, in 1820, they had less than *one half*. The last had only a little more than *one sixth* of that population in 1790, but more than *one third* of the whole in 1820. They will probably have nearly *one half* in 1830.

There are a good many slaves in Kentucky and Tennessee—in 1810, 125,000, and in 1820, 206,000. The next census will, probably, shew no increase in Kentucky, but a considerable increase in Tennessee, because of the cultivation of cotton in the latter. The other cotton growing states will exhibit a tremendous increase.

of cotton and sugar, because that they *cannot* come into competition with the free labourers for the production of grain, as mechanics or manufacturers, or to engage in commercial business. *Kentucky* is conditioned very much like *Missouri*, but will chiefly become a manufacturing state. Thousands of slaves are exported annually from *Maryland*. Their number has increased only 4,000 since 1790. The cultivation of tobacco, which has been their main business, cannot be extended, for it is found that *the demand cannot be increased*;* and in *Ohio* and *Pennsylvania*, those kinds of tobacco, which have been most profitable to the *Maryland* planters, begin to be extensively raised by the hands of freemen—and they can raise it cheaper than we do by slaves. *Maryland*, besides, is rapidly increasing in manufacturing establishments, and nothing but these, supported by commerce, will prevent a decrease of her population. The fact is, that the small increase we have had, may be said to be *WHOLLY* confined to those districts in which there were, and are, very few

*It is worthy of remark, that the whole export of tobacco has been rather decreased than increased in the last thirty years—see the commercial table, page 329. In the years 1791 and 1792, we exported 213,700 *hds.* and, in 1823 and 1824, 176,892—and, yet, the two last years shew a greater export than any other two succeeding years, for twenty years past, by many thousand *hds.*

slaves. For instance, *Baltimore*, *Frederick* and *Washington* counties had 109,300 inhabitants in 1790, of whom, 15,598 were slaves; *Charles*, *St. Mary's* and *Prince George's* had, in the same year, 54,056, of whom 28,148 were slaves—the first three counties shewed an increase of 50,500, by the census of 1820, of which increase only 4,000 was of slaves, whereas the three last counties exhibited an actual decrease of 4,500, of which decrease one half was in the slaves. [It is thus also in *Virginia*. The slave population either checks or drives out the free white—as is shewn by a comparison of the different censuses. Unless for the increase in the counties that have not many slaves, *Maryland* and *Virginia* would have made but little advance in white population for the last thirty years. This is capable of demonstration from official documents.†] It is not ne-

Free whites in	1790.	1820.
<i>Maryland</i>	208,649	260,022
<i>Virginia</i>	442,117	602,974
	650,766	862,996
		650,766

Increase in 30 years 212,230

Or at the rate of a little more than *thirty per cent.* in thirty years, whereas in the United States, generally, (including these states), the increase has been more than *one hundred and fifty per cent.* for the same time. *Maryland* and *Virginia*, in 1790, had *one fifth* of the whole free population of the republic; but, in 1820, they had only *one ninth*. *Virginia* shews an increase of only 160,000 free whites in 30 years, but even densely populated *Massachusetts* had an increase of 150,000 in the same time, notwithstanding the vast migrations that have been made from the last named state, whose territory is small, soil poor, and climate severe! But the stock for increase was only 373,000, whereas that of *Virginia* was 442,000—so *Massachusetts* has increased much more rapidly than *Virginia*.

cessary to dwell on these facts and suggestions. The operation of them will be as steady to bring about a decreased interest in slaves, in the states above named, as the progress of the waters of the Mississippi to the sea is certain. Gov. Troup has noticed the effect as to Maryland, in his message of the 7th of June, see page 377—but Missouri, and, probably Kentucky, will precede Maryland, in the way that so sensibly moves him.

Again—when we regard the progress of population in the south, (deficient as it is, compared with the more vigorous growth of the north and north-west), we must pay especial attention to the invaluable advantages which it has derived from the cultivation of cotton, which has become the great staple export article of the United States, within a very few years, rising from *nothing*, in 1790, to almost two hundred millions of pounds, which it will probably reach in the present year! It is as plain as that the sun shines at noon day, that the success which *has* attended the planting of this valuable commodity, has mainly contributed to the increase of population and wealth in the south, not only as to slaves, but by inducing thousand of persons, from the east, to locate themselves there, who would not otherwise have thought of such a migration. This fact admitted, and *it must be admitted*, the question occurs—*Is it possible that the cultivation and product of cotton can be kept up and increased with the ratio that it has maintained for the last twenty years?*—IT IS NOT POSSIBLE. No one can believe that it is. The truth is, that more cotton than the demand required *was* already produced, and the business of raising it had

become a bad one, before the occurrence of certain late events in South America opened a new market, which is already glutted with a year or two's supply; and cotton will fall back to what was its lowest price a short time ago. There is no *new world* to take the surplus quantity; and yet, even in the United States, a *five hundredth* part of the land fitted for its cultivation has not been brought into use for it! Besides, there is Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Chili and Peru, in all which it may be produced, and to any extent. These countries are just liberated, and the people will, *consequently*, become industrious. In addition, there is renovated Egypt, and, soon to be added, emancipated Greece. From the first, not one bale was exported 4 or 5 years ago—but last year it furnished 50,000 bales for the European market, and this year, it is supposed, that 90,000 or 100,000 will be exported! But Greece, and her beautiful islands, is able nearly to supply the consumption, if not the manufacture, of Europe—that is, she has lands and labour enough for it, and nothing but “liberty and safety” is wanting for that purpose; for, from one little spot, the valley of Seres, in Macedonia, nearly 100,000 bales were annually exported some years since, even under Turkish extinctions of industry! It is useless to pursue this subject—the manufacture of cotton must now have received nearly its ultimate perfection from scientific power. It is spun, warped, woven, printed, or stamped, by machinery: there is no great desideratum about it—all is so nearly accomplished, that improvement *cannot* go much further: it is thus by their *cheapness*, that cotton goods have been *forced* into consumption, and that every nook and corner of the world has been examined to get a market for them. The *demand*

cannot be greatly increased, but the *supply* may be increased several thousand fold! The fact already is, that a large crop in the United States may produce less money than a small one, because of a glut in the European market.* As it has been, so it will be. Let those interested look to it. From Mobile, Nashville, &c. we hear that the crops in Alabama, Tennessee, &c. will be greatly increased—in the latter it is supposed that it will be *doubled*. And, strange as the declaration may appear to those who have not been accustomed to regard the effects of *scarcity* and *supply*, it is easy to believe, that, if one third of the growing crop in the United States shall be destroyed by *the rot*, that the other two thirds may produce a much larger sum of money than the whole crop, if preserved, will sell for. And further, there is a greatly increased cultivation in North-Carolina, and “Virginia cotton” will appear in future Liverpool prices current.

Many planters in the south have long been perfectly convinced of the truth of what is stated in the preceding remarks. He, who knoweth the heart, well knows that I feel nothing like pleasure in saying, that the south *has had* its day of prosperity—that it cannot grow and increase in population and wealth as it hath done, by the growth and increase of cotton planting and production. South-Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and a part of Tennessee, whose population is very small, compared with that of the rest of the states, have, for many years, furnished a greater value for export than the whole of the other members of the re-

*144 millions of pounds, exported in 1822, were valued at 24 millions of dollars—but 173 millions of pounds, in 1823, were worth only 20 millions of dollars; the larger quantity yielding *one-sixth* less than the smaller!

public supplied, including the products of the forest, of the sea, of agriculture, and of manufactures and the mechanic arts! But what of all this? Is even the *wealth* of the nation located in the south? We know that the *strength* is not. Both are in the industrious east or thrifty middle and west, notwithstanding the grand *monopoly* which soil and climate give to the south. It will be so—it must be so, because of the elastic industry and adventurous spirit that naturally prevails in a free and unincumbered people. For the proof—the valuation of the *lands* and *houses* of New York and Pennsylvania in 1815, under the United States’ assessments, (the principle of which was the same in *all* the states), was more than six hundred millions of dollars, whereas the aggregate valuation of the lands and houses, *and that of more than a million of slaves added thereto*, in the states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee, was less than five hundred and twenty millions, or nearly *one-sixth* less.† And, if the personal property—say in *all* articles raised, produced or obtained, for consumption, sale or barter—the utensils

† The area of the two states named, compared with the united areas of the seven other, is *very* small; and their aggregate population, in 1810, was 1,770,000; whereas that of the seven states was 3,240,000.—What a difference!

In 1791, the lands and improvements of Pennsylvania were valued at 165 millions—but those of Virginia, and all her slaves, at only 71. And in 1815, little Connecticut was put down at 88 millions, while the large state of South Carolina, with her slaves, was valued at no more than 74 millions. By the state assessment of 1824, the *dwelling houses* and *lands* of Connecticut were valued as follows—

29,778 dwelling houses	20,267,383
2,606,789 acres of land, averaged at	\$19.64, 51,228.308

\$71,495,691

Observe, the *whole* land in the state is averaged at nineteen dollars and sixty-four cents per acre!

and tools of the farmers and mechanics and their stocks on hand, the machinery of the manufacturers—the ships and other vessels belonging to, and the goods in the hands of, the merchants and dealers—the amount of money that the whole have actually invested in public securities or stocks, or on hand—their household furniture and other conveniences, of the people of the “free states,” were compared with the like species of property belonging to those of the south, the value of the one would, no doubt, *eight or ten times* exceed that of the other! The reasons for this are as numerous as they are manifest, and I shall mention only one of them. The “free states” abound with small proprietors of land, which they cultivate and improve with their own hands, and with other persons, who constitute the middle classes, the bone and sinew of every country, and the southern states do not. Besides, nearly all the *seamen* of the United States, nearly all the *manufacturers*, and a mighty majority of the *mechanics*, are located in them—and it is these who, more than any others, (*fishermen* excepted), *increase the value of commodities*, for their own profit in business or comfort in life.

I have thus, I must believe, conclusively shewn, that the people of the “free states,” unless a silly people, indeed, cannot have any *political* jealousies or fears of the people of the south. There is no possible reason why they should entertain either. They already have more than a double amount of disposable physical power, they have many times the wealth of the other in lands or improvements or transferable funds—and a sufficient majority in congress to carry any measure which they shall see proper to unite upon, with the same unanimity which those of the south would shew on the “slave question,” were it agitated;

and, surely, if the “firm union of the south” is a praise-worthy sentiment in regard to that question, or any other, *the firm union of the free states* must be equally so. But neither ought to be approved of or tolerated, though the first seems likely to become fashionable. If it should, the weaker interest “must go to the wall,” for combination on one side will beget union on the other—and thus it did, in the late presidential election, so as to defeat the combined forces in caucus, and put that sort of juggling, or smuggling, to death.* And further, as to any questions of real or supposed interest, that can come up between the “free states” and the “slave states,” save and except those about slavery, (which no one expects will be meddled with, *as at present it stands*), Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, *grain-growing* states, are with the “free states”—say in respect to internal improvements and the encouragement and support of domestic manufactures, or protection of commerce; to which last the south *was* nearly as much opposed as it now *is* to the two other interests just named. And even if it pleases the one that *taxation* and *representation* shall go together, as the constitution designed that they should, and as reason and justice say that they ought, there is *power* enough already

*The great original object of the people was to defeat the caucus—and they accomplished *that*, though they were much divided, towards the close of the campaign, as to the *person* whom they preferred for the presidency. The objection was less to Mr. Crawford than to the *manner* in which he had been brought forward. Without any strong *personal* opposition to him, we could not see any *political* preference which he had over the rest of the candidates, to justify or excuse the proceedings of so small a minority of the members of congress, admitting it to be right that there has been, and may be, times in which a caucus ought to be held. Neither of which am I disposed to deny.

(or, at least, very soon will be), to carry the principle into operation. How, then, can the people of the "free states" be jealous of the "slave states?" What have they to gain? They now possess all that they can desire. It is shameful that it should have been intimated, (and without the solitary appearance of a fact to support it), that they are jealous of, or disposed to act against the "slave states," on account of their slaves—But, on the other side, we have seen that a distinguished member of congress from Virginia, publicly denounced the last treaty with Spain, because it "gave up" Texas, as he said—not that we much wanted or had use for the territory, *but for the great reason that it might, if obtained, have been divided into "two slave states," to counterbalance, in the senate, the growing weight of the free population in the house of representatives!*—plainly

avowing a design or desire, that a *black, negro, slave power, or slave interest*, should govern the *free people* of the United States, and stifle, in the senate, the whole force of the representative principle! See *Weekly Register*, Vol. XXVII, page 21.

But the most important matter is yet to be considered. All men and especially politicians, are presumed first to consult their own *pecuniary interest*; and I shall undertake to prove, in a subsequent paper, that it is unquestionably the *pecuniary interest of the people of the "free states," that the present system of slavery should be kept up in the south.* If I shall fail in this, it must be for a wretched want of ability to handle the subject, or history is false, experience a folly, and the practice of all the commercial and manufacturing nations founded on error.

SUMMARY.

WE regret that several articles intended for the present number of our work, owing to the length of those already inserted, cannot find admission. We hope soon to present them to the publick.

Noble Deeds.—It has been from no indifference to the value of the act, nor from any indisposition to give to it our applause, that we neglected in our last number to record the emancipation of upwards of eighty slaves by Mr. *David Minge*, of Charles city county, Virginia. Mr. *Minge* is a young gentleman of liberal education, and considerable wealth, and considered himself by this liberal act contributing to the welfare of his country as well as yielding to the impulses of humanity. He chartered a brig, furnished her with supplies, and implements of husbandry, distributed among his servants a *Peck of dollars* and sent them to Hayti.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Moore*, a pious lady of Bourbon county, Kentucky, has recently provided by will for the emancipation of all her slaves, amounting to about forty.

David Patterson, Esq. of Orange county, N. C. has freed eleven slaves, and the Rev. *Fletcher Andrew*, a Methodist clergyman, has given liberty to twenty, which constituted most of his property.

Sixty slaves have just been manumitted by Mr. *Charles Henshaw* near Richmond, Virginia, with the view of sending them to the American Colony in Liberia.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

Exertions have been made, within two or three weeks past, to aid the Colonization Society in Frederick county, Maryland, and we believe with considerable success. In Fredericktown, an important Auxiliary Institution has existed for some time. Subordinate societies are now organized in Middletown, Liberty, Taneytown and Westminster, all of them receiving the countenance and support of

the intelligent, wealthy and influential. Perhaps in no part of the country do the objects of the Colonization Society, receive more general approbation, than in Frederick county, Maryland.

An Auxiliary Society of great promise was established on the 9th inst. in Powhatan county, Virginia. Before the adoption of the constitution the following resolutions were sustained unanimously by the citizens of that county.

Resolved, That this meeting regard with deep interest and unfeigned approbation both the object and efforts of the American Colonization Society, to establish a Colony of free people of colour of the United States, on the coast of Africa.

Resolved, That it is expedient to form a Society in this county, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

A similar association has just been instituted at Lynchburg, Va. We are happy to give place to one or two sentences, from the eloquent appeal of the editor of the Lynchburg Herald, in favour this institution.

"It is doing no more than justice to the institution itself, and to the cause which it is intended to advance, to say that the citizens of Lynchburg and the vicinity are now called upon to contribute their aid, by a more imperative voice than ever sounded an appeal to them before. That voice is imperative because it comes from the fountain of justice and of humanity; it is imperative because the cause in whose favour it speaks an appeal, is the most holy and righteous, whatever may be its difficulties, that the annals of our country can present; it is imperative because the object which is intended to be secured, is the noblest and the best that private interest, national weal and pure philanthropy ever dictated to the human heart."

At a respectable meeting of gentlemen in Springfield, Mass. on the 11th inst. it was resolved that it is expedient to form a society in Hampden county, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

A respectable society has also been organized within a few days past in Hanover county, Va. of which however we have not particular information.

Another society has just been formed in Kanhawa county, Va.

The names of the officers of all those societies will be published in the next report of the Parent institution.

Slave Trade.—European avarice has been glutted, says the London Evangelical Magazine, with the murder of 180,000,000 of blacks, since the commencement of that horrid traffic of the *Christian world*, the *Slave Trade*!!! When will the time come, than men calling themselves Christians, will act as if they believed "that God had made of the same flesh and blood, all the nations of men?"

From papers submitted to the house of Commons on the subject of the slave trade, says the Boston Patriot, it appears that, with the exception of the Government of the Netherlands, not one of the European Governments that have affected to conspire with the British Government in the suppression of that traffic, has kept faith. The traffic is carried on under the flags of France, Spain, and Portugal, in the most extensive mode, and with little disguise.

Africa.—We learn from the Glasgow Courier, that an extensive company of British merchants, of high character, capital, and knowledge, has been formed to open and carry on a trade with the African coast. They have obtained the cession of the Island of Fernando Po, an island sixty miles in extent, lying near the coast of Benin, and abundant in the growth of sugar cane, rice and tobacco. It is there proposed to open a trade with the countries on the continent washed by the great rivers in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. It is further contemplated to supply from this source the West India colonies with various articles of live stock, while the produce of the mother country will be exchanged to a great extent for African productions. In connexion with these great advantages, it is proposed by the British Admiralty, from the commanding position afforded by the Fernando Po, to watch the progress of the slave trade.

N. B. The list of donations, to the Society, will appear in our next number.